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QUESTION OF PALESTINE
THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST
CONSEQUENCES OF THE IRAQI OCCUPATION
OF AND AGGRESSION AGAINST KUWAIT

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-sixth year

Letter dated 30 December 1991 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i.
of the Permanent Mission of Kuwait to the United Nations
addressed to the Secretary-General

On instructions from my Government, I enclose herewith the "Final Declaration" (annex I) and "the Declaration of Kuwait" (annex II) issued by the twelfth session of the Supreme Council of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), held in Kuwait during the period from 23 to 25 December 1991.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter and the enclosures circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda items 33, 35 and 46, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mohammad A. AL SALLAL
Chargé d'affaires, a.i.

ANNEX I

Final Declaration adopted by the Supreme Council of the Gulf Cooperation Council at its twelfth session, held at Kuwait from 23 to 25 December 1991

At the invitation of His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, Amir of the State of Kuwait, the Supreme Council held its twelfth session at Kuwait from 22 to 25 December 1991. The following were present:

His Highness Sheikh Zayed Bin Sultan Al-Nahyan, President of the United Arab Emirates;

His Highness Sheikh Isa Bin Salman Al-Khalifa, Amir of the State of Bahrain;

The Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Fahd Bin Abdul-Aziz Al Saud, King of Saudi Arabia;

His Majesty Sultan Qaboos Bin Said, Sultan of Oman;

His Highness Sheikh Khalifa Bin Hamad Al-Thani, Amir of tne State of Qatar;

His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, Amir of Kuwait.

Aggression of the Iraqi regime against the State of Kuwait

The Supreme Council considered regional developments in the Gulf in light of the liberation of Kuwait and the restoration of its freedom and independence, praising God, the Most High, the Almighty, for the success He has granted in the defeat of aggression and the aggressor, and congratulating Kuwait, its leadership and its people, on the restoration of legitimacy under the leadership of its Amir, His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, Amir of Kuwait.

The Supreme Council expresses its pride in the spirit of fraternal solidarity and principled mutual assistance that has prevailed among its member States, and it records with admiration the fact that the citizens of the GCC States adopted a stance that attests to the strength of the commitment, interlinkage and unity of destiny of the members of the Gulf family and manifests the authentic cohesion existing between citizens and their leaders. The Council values the sacrifices made by citizens in time of trial and adversity.

The Supreme Council commends the support provided by the fraternal and friendly countries which took a stand for truth, justice and the principles of international law that had an active part in giving expression to the

international will and giving effect to resolutions embodying international legitimacy. It expresses its esteem and gratitude for such historic contributions to the defence of the rule of law, the advancement of justice, the establishment of solid foundations for security and stability in the region and the promotion of international peace as a whole. The Council stresses the stance taken by its member States towards the Iraqi regime in their refusal to treat with it until such time as it commits itself to the implementation of all the Security Council resolutions relating to its aggression against the State of Kuwait.

The Supreme Council beseeches the Lord God Almighty to shelter the martyrs of truth and duty in His boundless paradise and to encompass them with His infinite mercy.

The Supreme Council notes with deep concern that the Iraqi regime continues to temporize and to obstruct the implementation of a number of the provisions contained in the Security Council resolutions relating to its aggression against the State of Kuwait. The Council condemns such policies of procrastination and affirms that it will resist attempts to circumvent United Nations resolutions. It calls upon Iraq to expedite the implementation of all the relevant Security Council resolutions. It stresses, in particular, the need for the full and speedy implementation of the terms of the cease-fire and all the provisions of Security Council resolution 687 (1991), particularly those relating to the immediate release of all prisoners and detainees, both Kuwaitis and third-country nationals, the demarcation of the boundaries between Kuwait and Iraq and the payment of compensation for the human losses and material damage caused by its aggression.

The Supreme Council urges the international community, and in particular the Security Council, to bring greater pressure to bear on the Iraqi regime to ensure the full and immediate implementation of United Nations resolutions and to prevent the Baghdad regime from evading its international obligations.

The Supreme Council notes with deep regret the sustained suffering of the Iraqi people, which continues to pay the price for the ruinous policy of the Iraqi regime, its continued intransigence, its disregard for the norms of international conduct and the provisions of international legitimacy, the perpetuation of its policy of repressing its people and its insistence on protracting their suffering and the human tragedy that they are enduring. The burden of the Iraqi people can only be mitigated or removed by the compliance of the Iraqi regime with its international obligations and by the full implementation of Security Council resolutions, including resolutions 706 (1991) and 712 (1991) which make it possible for the humanitarian, food and medical needs of the Iraqi people to be met.

Functioning of the Gulf Cooperation Council

The Supreme Council reviewed the outcome of a decade of joint action in the political, security, military, economic and social fields. It expresses its satisfaction at the achievements made in well-being, growth and development through coordination, integration and unification with a view to achieving the aspirations of the citizens of the GCC States.

Proceeding from a firm conviction of the importance of promoting security and military cooperation among its member States and strengthening their defence capacities in light of the lessons learnt from the aggression of the Iraqi regime, the Supreme Council affirms its determination to maintain coordination and cooperation in the military and security field and to develop defensive capabilities in the framework of a unified strategic vision that will fulfil the requirements of security, be capable of meeting the challenges of the situation, achieve stability and guarantee the non-recurrence of aggression.

The participants express their great esteem and deep gratitude to His Highness Sultan Qaboos Bin Said, Sultan of Oman, for his endeavours on assuming responsibility for the Supreme Security Committee, for his generous devotion to the work of the Committee and his patronage of its deliberations, and for investing his expertise in the comprehensive strategic report prepared for the Summit, thereby expressing his faith in the future of the Council and his concern that its work should be marked by meticulous and objective preparation.

The Supreme Council affirms its resolve rapidly to pursue a course of joint action to consolidate the structure of cooperation and to maintain a constant responsiveness to the aspirations of citizens as well as to nourish this worthy process so that the goals desired of it may be achieved. It further affirms its determination to make greater qualitative achievements on the basis of the schedules established by the ministerial committees for the progressive implementation of the provisions of the unified economic agreement so as to strengthen the interlinkage of interests among citizens, undertake a greater number of joint projects and eliminate all obstacles to the movement of citizens and goods and to the flow of investments. To the specialized ministerial committees, it stresses the need for the speedy adoption of the necessary steps for the full implementation of the remaining provisions of the unified economic agreement.

Given its belief and conviction that the States of the Gulf Cooperation Council have a role to play in contributing to global Arab development and that the mobilization of local and international resources for the achievement of that end in accordance with the concepts of the free economy is of the utmost importance, the Council adopted an agreement establishing the Programme of the Gulf Cooperation Council in support of economic development efforts in the Arab States, in accordance with the considerations, principles and goals laid down in the decision to establish the Programme taken at the Doha Summit.

The current inter-Arab situation

The Supreme Council considered the developments that have taken place in the peace efforts in the Middle East, and it commended the sustained and sincere endeavours being made by the international community and in particular by the United States.

While expressing in this connection its satisfaction at the results of the peace conference held in Madrid, in which the Gulf Cooperation Council participated in the capacity of observer, the Supreme Council expresses its deep regret at the delay in the bilateral negotiations that began in Washington on 10 December 1991 owing to the fact that the readiness of the Arab delegations to enter into serious and purposeful negotiations was met by continued Israeli intransigence and by Israeli attempts to thwart the peace process. As it looks forward to a forthcoming round of bilateral negotiations in January 1992 free of further Israeli obstacles or the raising of procedural formalities, the Supreme Council is hopeful that the negotiations will achieve material progress towards reaching the desired goals.

The Supreme Council affirms its support for the peace efforts and the determination of its member States to participate in the multilateral meetings in an endeavour on their part to promote regional security by finding fundamental solutions to all the conflicts in the region in the light of a new world order that embodies the desire for peace and strengthens international stability and as their contribution to advancing the peace process and to the achievement of a just and comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the question of Palestine that will ensure the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the restoration of the occupied Arab territories, and especially Jerusalem, on the basis of the implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and of the principle of land for peace.

The Supreme Council stresses the need to rid the entire Middle East region of all types of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

The Council expresses its deep concern and indignation at the fact that the Israeli occupation authorities are persisting in their policies aimed at establishing illegal settlements in the occupied Arab territories, at the continuing violation of the sanctity of the Haram al-Sharif and at the abusive practices against the Palestinian people and the mounting casualties of the occupation in terms of persons killed, wounded, detained, displaced and deported. The Council condemns policies aimed at the forcible imposition of faits accomplis and acts of violence which are not in keeping with the current peace efforts. It reaffirms its full support and backing for the steadfastness shown by the Palestinian people in the occupied Arab territories.

The Council welcomes the positive developments that have taken place in Lebanon and the steps taken by its Government to safeguard the country's independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty and bring about national

reconciliation. It calls for the full and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978) and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from southern Lebanon without delay or procrastination, and it reiterates its support for the International Fund for the Reconstruction and Development of Lebanon.

In the context of its review of inter-Arab relations in light of the consequences of the Iraqi aggression against the State of Kuwait, the Council expresses its deep satisfaction at the successful cooperation between the GCC States, the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Syrian Arab Republic in the framework of the Damascus Declaration. It affirms its aspiration to realize the purposes and principles agreed upon by the eight States and looks forward to the Declaration creating bright prospects for Arab interaction and cooperation in its role as a nucleus for resolute Arab action within the framework of the Pact of the League of Arab States and an essential contribution to the elaboration of well-established and clear principles based on a commitment, in attitude and conduct, to inter-Arab and international covenants that will advance joint Arab interests.

The Council further affirms that its dealings in the framework of inter-Arab relations will be on the basis of the principles set forth in the Damascus Declaration, and it calls upon the Arab States to support this position and to abide by these principles.

The Council expresses its deep concern and sorrow at the deteriorating security situation and the continuing divisions between brothers in Somalia. It affirms its support for the Somali people in its painful ordeal and urges all national Somali forces to eliminate the causes of the dispute among them, to give precedence to the national interest over all other, sectoral, interests and to strive for the unity and integrity of Somalia, since such is their first and major responsibility. The Council commends the good offices of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Fahd Bin Abdul-Aziz, and it looks forward to the return of security and stability to Somalia given the country's importance for peace and stability in the entire region of the Horn of Africa.

Relations with Iran

Having heard the presentation of His Highness Sheikh Khalifa Bin Hamad Al-Thani, Amir of the State of Qatar and Chairman of the Supreme Council at its last session, on the contacts established by the office of the Chairman with the Islamic Republic of Iran concerning relations between the GCC States and Iran, and recalling its resolution adopted at the Doha Summit affirming a desire for improved relations with that country, the Council expresses its satisfaction at the positive and substantial evolution of relations between the two sides. It affirms its concern to promote bilateral relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran in advancement of common interests, in keeping with Islamic and international principles and covenants, so as to reflect the closeness of their links of religion and neighbourliness.

The international situation

The Supreme Council has monitored the positive international developments - the end of the Cold War, the containment of the long-standing ideological conflict, the disappearance of political barriers, the endeavour to end the arms race, the trend towards constructive international cooperation in seeking radical solutions to regional tensions by peaceful means and by practical and rational methods, the adoption of policies of international openness and economic freedom and the endeavour to promote development and to utilize resources for the good and well-being of peoples. The Council expresses its deep satisfaction at these developments, and it affirms the determination of its member States to make an active contribution to laying the foundations of the new world order and to participate in international efforts for the establishment of that order on a basis of justice and fairness, in keeping with the higher interests of the GCC States.

The Supreme Council has followed with great interest ongoing events and developments in the Soviet Union. It expresses the satisfaction of the GCC States at the establishment of the Commonwealth and their readiness to recognize its members given the commitment of the States in question to international treaties and agreements. The GCC States are further hopeful that the political leadership in the independent republics will be able to contribute to the promotion of stability, security and peace in the world.

The Supreme Council expresses its deep appreciation and gratitude to His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, Amir of Kuwait, and to his Government and people, for their warm reception and kind hospitality and for the sincere sentiments of brotherliness with which the leaders of the GCC States were received. It commends the meticulous preparation made and the considerable effort undertaken to ensure the comfort of delegations, the success of the meeting and the achievement of the positive results obtained. It beseeches the Lord God Almighty to grant His Highness lasting health and happiness and to safeguard Kuwait and its people from all adversity.

The Council looks forward to meeting at its thirteenth session, to be held in the United Arab Emirates in December 1992 at the kind invitation of its President, His Highness Sheikh Zayed Bin Sultan Al-Nahyan.

Kuwait, 25 December 1991

ANNEX II

Kuwait Declaration

The States of the Gulf Cooperation Council,

Proceeding on the basis of the sentiments of brotherhood and solidarity that bind them,

Giving concrete expression to their unity of purpose, their common destiny and the higher interests of their peoples,

Seeking to strengthen their capacity to meet their responsibilities in ensuring security, stability and prosperity for those peoples,

Seeking to embody that most magnificent manifestation of cohesion exemplified in the intermingling of pure Gulf blood on the soil of Kuwait, thereby recording the most sublime illustration of sacrifice and generosity,

Anxious to realize the purposes and principles set forth in the statute of the Council,

Desiring to achieve that greater cooperation and coordination in the political, security, military, economic and social fields that is conducive to their unity, in accordance with the noble aspiration of the leaders of the States of the Gulf Cooperation Council to strengthen the bonds of cohesion among the citizens of the GCC States,

Conscious of the changes and new developments in the regional and international arenas and that the enormous challenges that they pose will require vigorous and assiduous action if the highest levels of coordination and cooperation among them are to be achieved,

Affirming their position of rejecting the way of aggression and of partiality thereto, as exemplified by the naked Iraqi aggression against and brutal occupation of the State of Kuwait and by the threat that that aggression posed to all the GCC States,

Regarding any act of aggression against any member State as aggression against all member States, viewing the security of the GCC States as an integral whole, and considering the aggression that took place as a departure from all established inter-Arab, Islamic and international rules, customs and values and an eschewal of a multitude of the concepts and achievements of joint Arab action,

Expressing their deep appreciation and gratitude to the Arab, Islamic and friendly States that defended the right and condemned the aggression and took action for its removal,

And in the framework of their adherence to the purposes and principles enshrined in the covenants and resolutions of the League of Arab States, and in the Damascus Declaration and embodied by the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the United Nations,

Hereby declare:

1. That the GCC States shall, in their international dealings, strive to respect the principles of good-neighbourliness, respect for the sovereignty of States and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, the peaceful settlement of disputes and respect for the sovereignty of each State over its resources.

2. That the GCC States stress the unity of their position in confronting the Iraqi regime and the regimes which cooperated with it in its criminal aggression against Kuwait, shall not allow those regimes the opportunity to violate that position and are resolved to maintain that position until such time as the Iraqi regime has implemented all the Security Council resolutions relating to its aggression against the State of Kuwait.

3. That the GCC States shall support inter-Arab action in the framework of the League of Arab States, shall consider the purposes and principles set forth in the Damascus Declaration as a basis on which to build a new Arab order and shall regard the Programme of the Gulf Cooperation Council in support of economic development efforts in the Arab States as the basis for any efforts aimed at achieving economic development in those States.

4. That the GCC States shall support the peace efforts aimed at achieving a just and durable solution to the Palestine issue and bringing an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of United Nations resolutions, particularly Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which are based on the principle of land for peace, and Security Council resolution 425 (1978), concerning the withdrawal of Israel from southern Lebanon without restrictions or conditions, and that they confirm their participation in the third phase given that the achievement of a just and comprehensive peace and agreement on addressing the issues which will be broached in this phase are in accord with their higher interests.

5. That the GCC States welcome, and congratulate Lebanon on, the positive steps taken by the Lebanese Government in its efforts to ensure security, stability and prosperity for its people, and that they express their readiness to contribute to the promotion of such efforts.

6. That the GCC States welcome the ongoing changes in the international arena and particularly those relating to the dawn of the new world order, considering as they do that the liberation of Kuwait is one of the first fruits of that order, that that order secures for all States, large and small, the right to live in security and peace and reaffirms their right to control

their natural economic resources, and that such changes can ensure the requirements of security and stability for the GCC States in such a way as to safeguard their higher interests.